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ARTICLE

Integrating Beyond the Campus: Ohio's Urban Public Universities and Neighborhood Revitalisation

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Introduction

Most major US colleges and universities were founded over 75 years ago, and so their main campus locations are often related to past population distributions rather than contemporary ones. Many are located in the cities of 'the Rustbelt'—the old urban-industrial heartland of the northeast, the mid-Atlantic, and the mid-west. During the twentieth century these cities have tended to decline relative to their burgeoning suburbs and 'the Sunbelt'—the fast-growing states of the south and west. Most Rustbelt cities peaked in population around 1950 and have declined ever since. They are characterised by aging and deteriorating housing stock, and by relatively high proportions of low-income and ethnic minority residents.

It is often argued that if urban universities can have a positive impact on surrounding neighborhoods, they will improve their institutional image, improve the image of the city that they are located in, recruit more and better students, and attract more research grants, contracts and charitable donations. They are also likely to increase their institutional cultural and ethnic diversity, recruiting more and better urban minority students, and more minority faculty.

In justifying local outreach activities by urban universities, the analogy is often drawn with the land grant system. For over a century that system has channeled federal and state funding to one or two universities in each state to support agriculture, community development and local economic development in rural areas throughout the state (Anderson, 1976). Especially since talk of a national urban crisis became common in the 1960s, many calls have been made for an urban grant system, or at least for federal funding for urban university outreach. Despite decades of lobbying, however, no large-scale funding has been given to urban universities to support outreach. Meanwhile, as metropolitan areas sprawl outwards and the proportion of the labor force working in agriculture continues to fall, the land grant universities have shifted much of their publicly-funded outreach

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activity to urban areas, offering courses in such fields as nutrition, gardening, handicrafts, health and hygiene.

There are no national datasets to measure outreach across the full range of US colleges and universities, or even to measure the quantity of university-promoted real estate development off campus. Nevertheless, a few dozen institutions have attracted widespread attention as leaders in neighborhood revitalisation and off-campus real estate development. Many of these are private institutions, for example the University of Pennsylvania (Rodin, 2005) and Trinity College in Hartford Connecticut (Trostle & Hersh, 2003). Private institutions are often wealthier, and they have much greater entrepreneurial flexibility in choosing their priorities and implementing their projects. In contrast, public institutions are often constrained by rigid government contracting and procurement rules, by constant legislative scrutiny, and sometimes also by laws that block the purchase of off-campus properties. State and local governments are often criticised for their bureaucratic cultures and lack of imagination, and these traits are often imposed on public institutions of higher education. Nevertheless, levels of institutional engagement beyond the campus vary greatly between different public colleges and universities, and between different states.

This paper profiles Ohio, a state where several major public universities have taken bold steps to revitalise and transform the neighborhoods surrounding their campuses. Four contrasting public urban universities are presented as case studies of outreach and engagement: the Ohio State University (OSU), the University of Cincinnati (UC), the University of Akron (UA), and Youngstown State University (YSU).[1] These four may well be the most impressive outreach and engagement examples in Ohio, and their neighborhood revitalisation efforts have been gathering momentum over the last 5 – 10 years. Our aims are threefold: first to discuss what features of Ohio may have caused some public universities to prioritise neighborhood initiatives; second to describe what each university has already achieved and what projects are currently being implemented; and third, to discuss the mechanisms, potentials and limitations of neighborhood revitalisation.

Ohio: The State and Its Cities

Ohio was granted statehood in 1803 as the 17th state in the union, stretching from Pennsylvania in the east to what would later become the States of Indiana and Michigan in the west, and from the Ohio River in the south to Lake Erie in the north. Throughout the state's history the Ohio River and the Great Lakes have been important axes of navigation, migration and trade. Early white settlement was primarily agricultural, and as Native Americans were displaced, the whole state became a patchwork of farmsteads, with scattered hamlets and towns. Ohio's population has risen steadily from 229 000 in 1820 to 3.6 million in 1900 and to about 11.5 million in 2005.[2]

Until the end of the nineteenth century, when it was overtaken by Cleveland, Cincinnati was Ohio's largest city. Nevertheless, the Ohio Legislature preferred a more central location for the capital, and in 1812 they decided to lay out a new city in the center of the state. That city, named Columbus, officially became the state capital in 1816. Table 1 shows Ohio city populations and national rankings at

TABLE 1. Ohio cities in the top hundred largest US cities (by population), 1850 – 2000

1850			1900		
Name	Pop'n (thous)	Rank	Name	Pop'n (thous)	Rank
Cincinnati	115	6	Cleveland	382	7
Columbus	18	37	Cincinnati	326	10
Cleveland	17	41	Toledo	132	26
Dayton	11	61	Columbus	126	28
Zanesville	8	92	Dayton	85	45
			Youngstown	45	84
			Akron	43	87
1950			2000		
Cleveland	915	7	Columbus	711	15
Cincinnati	504	18	Cleveland	478	33
Columbus	376	28	Cincinnati	331	53
Toledo	304	36	Toledo	314	55
Akron	275	39	Akron	217	80
Dayton	244	44			
Youngstown	168	57			
Canton	117	89			

Sources: www.census/gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027.html, www.demographia.com/db-uscity98.htm

half-century intervals. The state rises in size and number of cities till 1950, when it has eight cities in the national top 100 with Cleveland, the largest, ranking seventh. After 1950 it falls back dramatically to have only five cities in the national top 100 in 2000, with Columbus, now the largest, ranking 15th. Columbus has grown steadily in population over 150 years, and Toledo has a history of growth followed by relative stability over the last half century. The other major Ohio cities grew to peak around 1950 and have declined in population by between 20 and 55% since then. These urban population changes are the result of rapid industrialisation between 1850 and 1960, accelerated suburbanisation and substantial migration to Sunbelt states after 1945, the growth of service sector employment and mass consumption since 1945, and rapid deindustrialisation since 1965.

While the population of most Ohio cities has fallen since 1950, the population of most of the surrounding suburbs has grown rapidly and the population of metropolitan areas (cities plus suburbs) has grown steadily. The state is now focused on seven large metropolitan areas: Cleveland-Akron with almost three million people, Cincinnati-Hamilton with almost two million and spreading into adjacent sections of northern Kentucky and southern Indiana, Columbus with over 1.5 million, Dayton-Springfield with almost a million, Toledo with over 600 000, Youngstown-Warren with almost 600 000, and Canton-Massillon with over 400 000.[3]

Ohio's early economy was based on agriculture and agro-industries. From the late nineteenth century onwards, however, Ohio emerged as a major

manufacturing state producing steel, machinery, vehicles, rubber and tires (Knepper, 1989, pp. 286–312). Since the mid-1960s, Ohio and the whole urban–industrial core region of the US has experienced massive deindustrialisation. Many of the region's signature industries, including steel, rubber and motor vehicles, have seen substantial declines in production and employment, and some firms and industries have disappeared completely as the region's economy has restructured and as manufacturing has been shifted to the US Sunbelt, Latin America and Asia. Faced with declining population and tax revenues, and with deteriorating and over-extended infrastructure, many city governments have had to cut services. City public schools systems are often described as 'in crisis', especially when compared with their suburban equivalents, which typically have newer infrastructure, more middle class students, and a much healthier relation between budgets and needs. Ohio politics have become increasingly contentious, and nationally Ohio is 'a battleground state' where Republicans and Democrats are roughly equal in strength.

While Columbus and Cincinnati have diverse metropolitan economies, the histories of Akron and Youngstown are closely interwoven with the expansion and decline of a single major industry: rubber and tire manufacturing in Akron; steel in Youngstown.

Akron, in the first half of the twentieth century, was the world's principal center for rubber and tire corporate headquarters and manufacturing. Almost all the manufacturing was shut down between the 1960s and the 1990s (Love & Giffels, 1999). Job losses were massive but gradual. As many alternative jobs lay within commuting distance, the city's population loss has been relatively small. Akron's rubber and tire industry still has substantial corporate headquarters and laboratories, with links to UA teaching and research, especially in polymer science.

Youngstown was a major steel manufacturing center for over a century, but all the major steel plants were closed in the late 1970s (Buss & Redburn, 1983; Linkon & Russo, 2002). The city was never the headquarters of transnational corporations or large research facilities, and there was no major research spin-off to YSU. As a result, and given the concentration of plant closures in a very short period, the impact of shut-downs on the local economy was devastating. No alternative major centers of employment are located within easy commuting distance of Youngstown, and so the last 30 years have been characterised by rapid outmigration from the city, significant population loss in some of the suburbs, and a general impoverishment of the local economy.

Ohio's Public University System

The Ohio State Board of Regents (OBR) oversees the public system of post-secondary education in the state (Figure 1), ranging from community colleges granting two year associate degrees to research universities granting bachelors, masters, and doctorate degrees. There are 13 state-supported four-year universities, most of which grant graduate degrees, although only a handful offer doctoral degrees across a broad academic spectrum. Several of these four-year universities have branch campuses which provide the first two years of instruction for many incoming students and serve as a feeder system for their respective main campus.

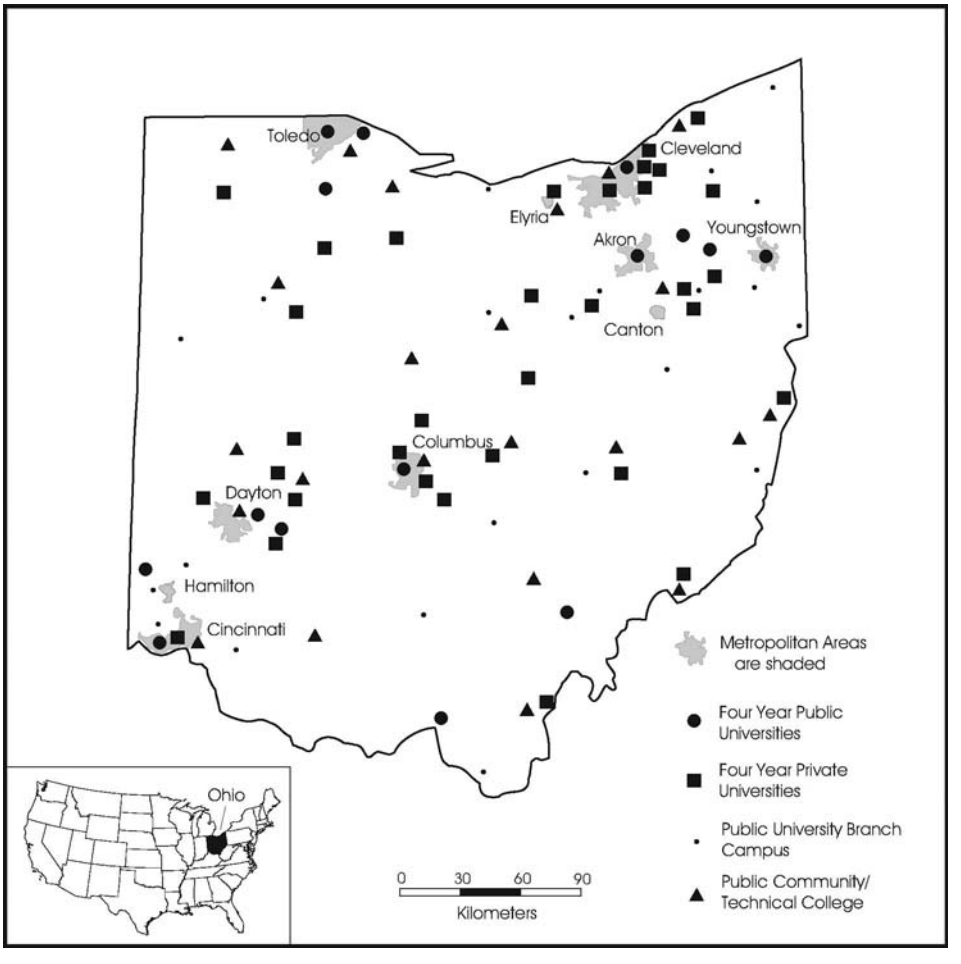

FIGURE 1. Distribution of cities and institutions of higher education in Ohio.

There are 22 of these university branch campuses across the state. In addition, there are 15 community colleges and eight technical colleges offering a range of two year associates degrees. The state supports medical colleges at OSU and UC, and free-standing medical colleges in Toledo and in Rootstown, just east of Akron.

The OBR plays a limited role in the governance of individual campuses. The members of the Boards of Trustees, the legally constituted bodies responsible for each university or college, are appointed by the state governor, typically from the ranks of well-connected local political supporters. The boards are independent of the OBR and as such each university and college is self-governing. The mission of the OBR is to promote the rational and efficient delivery of higher education services to the public throughout the state. It channels funds to public universities and colleges, approves degree programs, supports special research and technology initiatives, and pursues other educational activities promoted and funded by the state legislature.

State funding to public colleges and universities is primarily based on enrollment and so institutions that boost student numbers secure a larger percentage of the statewide pool of support. Over the last two decades, however, state financial support for higher education in Ohio has diminished and four-year institutions have been the most severely affected. While state monies provided about 50% of the funding needed to educate each undergraduate student in 1985, by 2005 this figure had fallen to barely 30%. The remainder is made up by increased tuition charges, donations, research support, and other miscellaneous sources.

As deindustrialisation and urban decline gathered force in the 1960s and 1970s, state legislators and local politicians began to see the public urban universities as vital resources for regional economic development and as potential contributors to local job creation and urban revitalisation. One manifestation of this was the establishment of a small funding line called the Urban University Program (UUP) by the state legislature in 1980 (Sweet, 1992b). The UUP funds support urban research and outreach activities at eight designated 'urban universities': Cleveland State University, which coordinates the program, the four profiled in this article (OSU, UC, UA and YSU), the University of Toledo, Wright State University (located in Dayton), and Kent State University (located in Kent, a small town northeast of Akron). Total funding for the program has never exceeded $10 million a year, and in 2005 it was $5.2 million.

The four universities profiled here vary considerably in size, history and mission (Table 2), and their associated cities and metropolitan areas vary even more. OSU and UC are two of the three major research universities of Ohio, the other being Case Western Reserve University, a major private institution in Cleveland. These three attract most of the federal research dollars that come to the state, they have the largest research and development (R&D) projects, and they have the widest range of doctoral programs. UA is a smaller research university with a more limited range of doctoral programs. YSU is smaller still and offers bachelors and masters degrees, but no doctoral programs.

To many visitors from other countries and regions, the most striking feature of Ohio's major public universities is the significance of sport, and particularly (American) football and basketball. In this respect, Ohio is much like Indiana, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Alabama and other 'Heartland' states—where the rhythm of college sports events is a major determinant of economic activity, and where many students, local citizens and alumni, and even faculty, focus their recreational activity and travel around university football and basketball games. Selling tickets, parking, advertising, and broadcasting rights to the games are major revenue sources for the university. In turn, financing and building stadiums and arenas, attracting and supporting top athletes and coaches, and paying for the staff and police necessary to manage matches, are major expenditures. Overall, the hope of most universities is to break even on their athletic programs, and to attract substantial alumni donations because of the loyalty and pride that university sport generates.

For spectators, major sports events are often associated with a very American ritual—the 'tailgate party'—a pre-game picnic of beer, hotdogs and other snacks, usually consumed in the parking lot. In Ohio, post-game celebrations or frustrations may lead on to a 'celebratory riot', a mob of people shouting, cars

TABLE 2. Comparative data for the four case study universities

	OSU	UC	UA	YSU
Founding date	1870	1819	1870	1908
Enrollment Count (autumn 2003)[1]	51 677	26 904	22 650	12 878
Enrollment FTE (autumn 2003)[2]	48 611	21 759	16 544	10 326
Revenue (FY 1 July 2003 – 30 June 2004)[3] million $	1544	695	309	154
Federal research funding (reported as Federal grants and contracts to OBR) million $ (FY 1 July 2003 – 30 June 2004)[4]	274	157	31	16
Total endowment (2004)[5] million $	1541	988	145	144
Carnegie research status (2000 edition)[6]	Doctoral/research universities—extensive	Doctoral/research universities—extensive	Doctoral/research universities—intensive I	Master's colleges and universities
Number of branch campuses	5	2	1	0
Branch campus enrollment count (autumn 2003)[7]	843 (Ag Tech) 1373 (Lima) 1745 (Marietta) 1664 (Mansfield) 2227 (Newark) Total: (7852)	3039 (Clermont) 4909 (Walters) Total: (7948)	1884 (Wayne)	

[1]*Source*: http://qry.regents.state.oh.us/cgi-pub/site_map?name=bds_sid&jsflag=yes; excludes branch campuses.
[2]*Source*: http://qry.regents.state.oh.us/cgi-pub/site_map?name=bds_sid&jsflag=yes; full time equivalent, excludes branch campuses.
[3]*Source*: http://qry.regents.state.oh.us/cgi-pub/site_map?name=bds_sid&jsflag=yes
[4]*Source*: http://qry.regents.state.oh.us/cgi-pub/site_map?name=bds_sid&jsflag=yes
[5]*Source*: National Association of College and University Business Officers. 2004 NACUBO Endowment Study (2005). www.nacubo.org/documents/research/FY04NSEIInstitutionsbyTotalAssetsforPress.pdf
[6]*Source*: http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/Classification/downloads/2000_Classification.pdf
[7]*Source*: http://qry.regents.state.oh.us/cgi-pub/site_map?name=bds_sid&jsflag=yes

honking, and many minor acts of vandalism committed as a way to let off steam. In most cases criminal behavior in celebratory riots is limited to such minor offences as public urination, upending trash-bins, pushing over fences and defacing signs, but in some cases it also involves dangerous driving, rolling parked cars over, and setting fire to garbage, old furniture and even cars.

The Ohio State University (OSU)

The OSU[4] is Ohio's flagship university, founded in 1870 as the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College, the state's land grant institution, and renamed OSU in 1878. When OSU was founded, Columbus was still a small and relatively new capital city with a population of about 31 000 (Hunker, 2000, pp. 50–51). Its land grant mission called for outreach to almost a quarter of a million farms spread across the whole state (Knepper, 1989, pp. 286–287). It has grown into a comprehensive research university with the largest enrollment in the state, nearly 50 000 students (full time equivalent, FTE), annual revenues of over $1.5 billion, federal grants and contracts in excess of $270 million annually, and an endowment of over $1.5 billion. As a land grant institution, OSU has a large agricultural experimental station in Wooster, 116 kilometers northeast of Columbus. It also has its own airport, the Don Scott Field located 6.5 kilometers north of the OSU campus, with associated aviation and flight training programs. Given the rapid and continuing growth of the Columbus Metropolitan Area, however, OSU is now both an urban and a land grant university, and it faces the challenge of integrating education, research, rural development, urban outreach, and support to state government, into a single comprehensive university mission.

When it was founded, OSU was allocated a large tract of land on the northwest side of Columbus, 3.7 kilometers from the city center. As it developed the 660 hectare campus, the university concentrated most of its academic buildings to the east (Figure 2). North High Street serves as the eastern boundary of campus, lined with a mixture of commercial and residential developments and carrying most of the traffic between the campus and downtown. All of OSU's main academic and administrative buildings, and also its massive stadium, are between North High Street and the Olentangy River. The areas west of the river were initially used for farming, but in the last 50 years they have gradually been redeveloped into a complex of R&D, office, laboratory, athletic and satellite parking facilities. The densest concentration of buildings on the main OSU campus is in the south around the OSU Medical School and Hospital Complex. Immediately to the south of this complex is the Battelle Memorial Institute, a major private not-for-profit applied science and technology development company, headquartered in Columbus since 1929.

On three sides, south, north and west, the OSU campus borders relatively stable and prosperous neighborhoods with a predominance of middle class homeowners and upmarket rental. To the south are the old urban neighborhoods known as Victorian Village and Italian Village, areas with strong neighborhood associations, designated as historic districts in 1973. Though these neighborhoods deteriorated somewhat in the 1960s and 1970s, they have improved since then, with some degree of gentrification as new homeowners have sought historic architecture and proximity to downtown, OSU and Battelle. To the north is the Clintonville

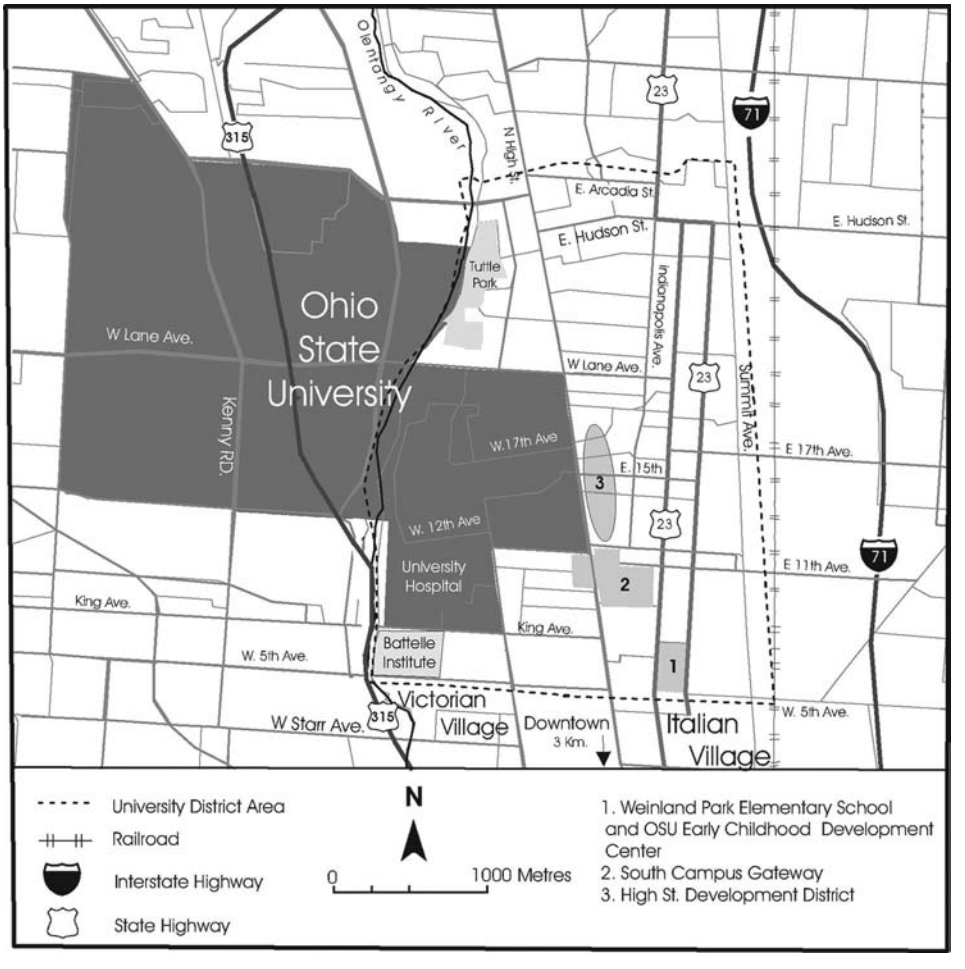

FIGURE 2. The Ohio State University: campus location and selected off-campus projects.

neighborhood of Columbus, an area developed since the early twentieth century with a considerable variety of housing types. To the west and southwest are the separate suburban municipalities of Upper Arlington, Marble Cliff and Grandview Heights, mainly developed since 1945.

In contrast to these relatively stable and prosperous neighborhoods, the area to the east has weak neighborhood identity and a predominance of rental properties. It is sandwiched between North High Street and the railroad tracks and interstate highway running north from Columbus to Cleveland. In the mid twentieth century it was home to thousands of households whose breadwinners worked in factories and warehouses along the railroad axis. Since the 1960s, most of the factories have been closed, levels of poverty have increased, and an increasing proportion of the properties have been purchased by absentee landlords. It is usually known simply as 'the University District' as it falls within the boundaries of the University Area Commission, established by the City of Columbus in 1972 in the hope of

promoting resident participation in neighborhood affairs. Within the University District, and especially around Weinland Park, there is a major concentration of rental housing in the program known as Section 8, which provides federal subsidies to landlords who rent houses or apartments to qualified low-income tenants. Since the 1970s the Weinland Park area has become notorious for poverty, blight and drug-related crime.

OSU has a long history of outreach and engagement, primarily framed around its land grant mission, and then around its professional schools, most notably the Medical Center and the Colleges of Education, Human Ecology, Social Work, and Dentistry. For most of the University's history, that engagement was statewide, with no special attention given to the neighborhoods around its campus. In recent years, however, under Presidents Gordon Gee (1990–1997), William Kirwan (1998–2002) and Karen Holbrook (2002–), the University District has been a primary focus of outreach efforts.[5]

In the 1990s OSU's senior administrators faced a difficult period of austerity caused by cuts in state support, and a growing crisis situation in the University District. The gravity of the neighborhood situation is summarised in this quote from a mother's letter to President Gee (Baroway, 2002, p. 28):

> My son was stabbed on N. High St. He is not the first nor will he be the last person to be attacked in the university area. Something must be done to make OSU a safe place for our children to attend college. The police tell me that the south campus area is the most dangerous part of the city. Many parents I've spoken to want their children to transfer to another university. The violence has become rampant and no one seems to be able to do anything. I beg you please keep the promise you made in the fall. Get involved in this serious situation and help rid the university area of this violence.

Gee responded swiftly to the deteriorating situation, reaching out to Columbus Mayor Dana Rinehart to develop an action plan through the already-existing University–Community Business Association (UCBA). Rinehart committed to more frequent trash pick-ups and reinforcing community policing, campus security was strengthened in the areas close to North High Street, community crime patrols were initiated, and OSU established an escort service to provide van rides home for students living in the University District. Four years later, however, the gravity of the situation was further reinforced by rising levels of drug-dealing, prostitution and gang activity, and then by the murder of Stephanie Hummer, an 18-year-old honors student. President Gee and Mayor Gregory Lashutka initiated a more comprehensive planning effort for the University District, and OSU's trustees provided $1 million in start-up funding for a new Community-Based Development Organization (CDC), to be called Campus Partners for Community Urban Development. Gee and Lashutka led a neighborhood 'High on Pride' clean-up in October 1994, removing 60 tons of trash from the areas close to North High Street (Baroway, 2002, p. 35). OSU's Interprofessional Leadership Task Force, convened by Nancy Zimpher, who served as Dean of the College of Education from 1993 till 1998, made the University District the prime focus of outreach

activities by OSU's professional schools, working primarily through neighborhood schools and community centers where medical, dental, social work and educational services could be provided to neighborhood residents free-of-charge (Nestor-Baker, 2004). A multi-disciplinary academic group known as Campus Collaborative was established to mobilise resources on campus, promoting neighborhood outreach, developing student volunteering and internship opportunities, and obtaining external funding, including a grant from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development's Community Outreach Partnership Centers (HUD – COPC) Program.

Campus Partners was formally established in 1995 as a means to promote planning and joint initiatives with the city government, non-profits and commercial developers. It coordinated the preparation of a *University Neighborhoods Revitalization Plan* (Campus Partners, 1995), which was approved by the City Council and OSU Trustees in 1997. The plan included a homeownership incentive program for OSU faculty and staff to buy houses and live in the University District, ongoing trash collection and neighborhood patrolling initiatives, OSU support to local schools and community centers, the revitalisation of the High Street axis, and the renovation of the Weinland Park area. In support of the plan, the trustees assigned $28 million from the OSU endowment and donations to support Campus Partners and provide seed capital for property acquisitions and redevelopment projects.

The prime project selected by Campus Partners was called 'South Campus Gateway', a six-building mixed-use development on both sides of North High Street just beyond the south-east corner of the OSU campus (Figure 3). This $152 million project is a joint development, funded by $22 million in OSU endowment funds, $10 million in state and city grants, and $120 million in tax-exempt bonds and other borrowing. The project was able to take advantage of US Treasury Department New Markets Tax Credits and of the city's eminent domain powers, which helped ensure the acquisition of the 31 parcels of land and associated businesses needed for the project. South Campus Gateway was opened in fall 2005, with 23 225 square meters of retail, 8361 square meters of office space, a 1200 space parking garage and 190 apartments (Iams, 2004). It creates a symbolic entry-point to the section of High Street that runs along the eastern border of the OSU campus, and symbolises the broader revitalisation effort for the whole commercial strip (Campus Partners, 2000). It also provides a substantial body of up-market housing, retailing and parking garage space within walking distance of most of the OSU campus, including a Barnes and Noble superstore and an eight-screen movie theater.

Campus Partners' other major project is the rehabilitation of over 500 units of Section 8 housing at Weinland Park, and the associated construction of a new Weinland Park Elementary School and an Early Childhood Development Center (ECDC). The partners in this effort are the Ohio Capital Corporation for Housing (OCCH), a large non-profit developer, the Columbus Public School System, and OSU's College of Human Ecology. The Section 8 rehabilitation is part of a city-wide program to buy out the Broad Street Portfolio, the original owners of 1335 Section 8 units, and to create a new model for affordable housing. Campus Partners and OCCH obtained two special Congressional appropriations to support

FIGURE 3. The South Campus Gateway, Columbus: View north on N. High St. with Gateway buildings to left and right (photo courtesy of Campus Partners).

planning and design studies, and OCCH initiated their four-year program of housing rehabilitation in 2004. Future subsidised housing for low-income households will be more scattered, and some of the existing Section 8 units will be converted to homeownership and market-rate rentals. Construction of the $7.3 million new Weinland Park elementary school and $8.5 million ECDC began in 2005. The ECDC is backed by a major donation of $2.5 million to the College of Human Ecology, and it is the subject of an ongoing funding campaign. It will provide a model day-care environment for about 90 children, with the capacity to support long-term research on learning and personality development. OSU's professional programs will provide a broad range of supportive services to neighborhood residents and to the children and families associated with the school and ECDC.

Though OSU and Campus Partners have achieved a great deal in revitalising the University District since the adoption of the *University Neighborhoods Revitalization Plan* in 1997, the university's (American) football prowess triggered a major setback in 2002. OSU is Ohio's premier sporting university because it is the largest institution of higher education in the state, and because unlike Cleveland and Cincinnati, which have major league professional basketball, football and baseball to draw sporting attention, Columbus focuses primarily on

OSU football (Menzer, 2005; Sharpe, 2005) and basketball. The OSU football stadium seats over 101 000 and usually has sell-out crowds for all eight home games each season.[6] Of all the games, the most passionately attended, both by everyone in the stadium and by thousands of others who cannot get tickets but tailgate party outside, or watch and listen in local bars, apartments and dorms, is the match against the University of Michigan, OSU's greatest rival. An OSU home victory over Michigan on 23 November 2002 sparked a major celebratory riot in the University District, which saw drunken crowds throwing rocks and bottles at police in riot gear, at least 107 fires, at least 20 cars overturned, and nine of them set ablaze.

The November 2002 riot hit the national news and was a major setback for OSU in its quest to build its reputation as a community stakeholder and partner in neighborhood revitalisation. President Holbrook and Mayor Michael Coleman convened a Commission to make recommendations on how to avoid any recurrence of such violence (OSU, 2003). New procedures for crowd management and supervising tailgating were instituted, OSU's Off-Campus Student Services increased its neighborhood patrols and block captain activity, and campus outreach activities were reinitiated with increased vigor. There has been no recurrence of the rioting, but neighborhood problems came to the fore again in April 2003 when five students, two from OSU and three visitors from Ohio University, died in a rooming-house fire after a student's 21st birthday party.[7]

With the opening of South Campus Gateway and the ongoing transformation of the Weinland Park area, there is real hope that university-related riots, murders and fire tragedies will never happen again. The future looks much more positive, and OSU is fortunate to be located in the one Ohio city that is characterised by long-term, ongoing population growth.

University of Cincinnati (UC)

UC was founded in 1819 as the Cincinnati College and the Medical College of Ohio, located downtown in what was then Ohio's only significant city. The institution was underfunded, functioning for a few years, then closing for a few years, then gradually reopening and adding new fields of study. In 1875 UC was established as a municipal university, and the academic programs were relocated 'uptown'—gradually developing a campus about three kilometers to the north of downtown (Eckelberry, 1932, pp. 80–102). In 1906 UC became a national pioneer in 'co-operative education' (known as co-op) whereby students alternate study at the university with extended work assignments with local employers. In 1977 it became a state university (Grace & Hand, 1995, p. 180), and since then it has grown to have a total of about 22 000 students (FTE), annual revenues of close to $700 million, about $160 million a year in federal grants and contracts, and an endowment of almost $1 billion.

Uptown, UC is divided into two parts, a roughly square 'original campus' to the south of the Burnet Woods city park, and a multi-institutional 'hospital area' to the northeast (Figure 4). The original campus, which from now on we will simply call 'the UC campus', covers about 56 hectares and concentrates most of UC's activity and almost all its undergraduate teaching. The hospital area is more

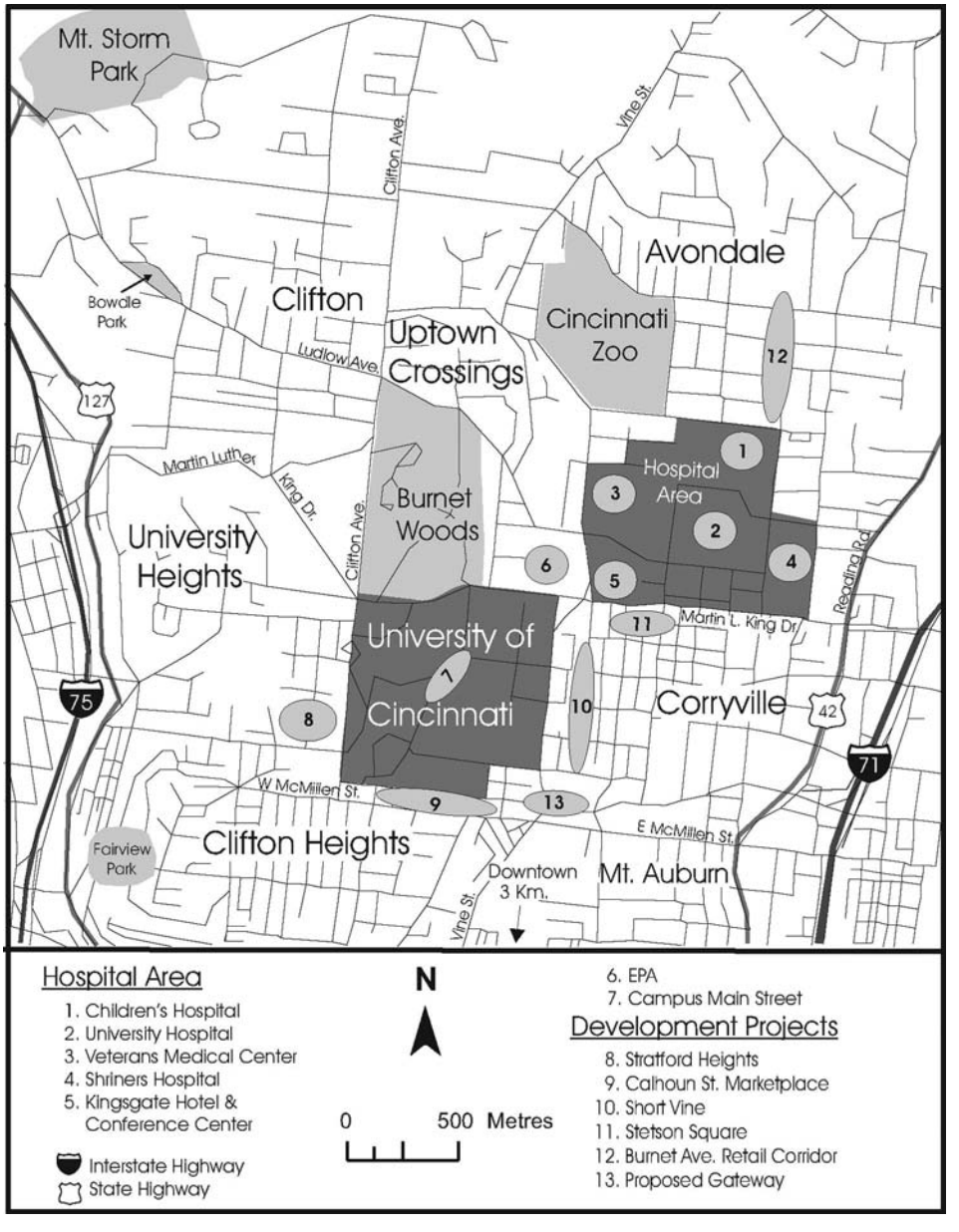

FIGURE 4. University of Cincinnati: campus location and selected off-campus projects.

heterogeneous, including the UC Medical Center and Hospital, the UC's Kingsgate Conference Center, some UC administrative buildings, and the UC Vontz Center for Molecular Studies. These hospital area buildings interlock with three major non-university medical facilities, the Children's Hospital, the Veterans Medical Center and the Shriners Hospital, to form the largest medical complex in the tri-state Cincinnati metropolitan region.

UC's campus and hospital area are surrounded by uptown residential neighborhoods, and also by some major institutions such as the Cincinnati Zoo, the Hebrew Union College, and two more hospitals, the Deaconess and Good Samaritan, both of which lie to the west of the campus and Burnet Woods. The area to the east of the campus was considerably complicated by a 1960s urban renewal project, which like many such efforts around the US, was more successful in demolishing property and reorganising infrastructure than in stimulating new construction. The urban renewal scheme cut Vine Street, the main link between downtown and uptown, so as to create a pedestrianised shopping mall. Thus, motorists driving northward from downtown to the zoo take Vine till they approach the UC campus, then they transfer to Jefferson Avenue, a wide boulevard on the east side of campus created as part of the urban renewal effort. At the north end of the campus, they cut between a US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) laboratory and the UC power plant to cross Martin Luther King Boulevard, a major west–east axis, and then rejoin Vine along the west side of the hospital area and the zoo. For a quarter century the old Vine Street east of the UC campus has languished as a run-down commercial strip known as Short Vine, mainly consisting of bars and fast food restaurants catering to campus clientele. To the north, the UC Power Plant and EPA lab are effectively closed to visitors, with the EPA engaging in high-security research.

Successive UC Presidents and Campus Architects have sought to give the university a high-tech image and a competitive advantage vis-à-vis other universities by commissioning a remarkable variety of 'signature architecture'—university buildings designed by famous architects like Michael Graves, Peter Eisenman, Gwathmey Siegel, Henry Cobb, Leers Weinzapfel and Frank Gehry (Bennett, 2001). The implementation of the 1991 campus master plan and its various revisions (UC, 2000) has produced a very compact and walkable campus, increasingly focused on a pedestrian 'Main Street' running from southwest to northeast and linking across the 'no-man's-land' around the Power Plant and EPA lab to the hospital area.

The recent history of UC outreach and engagement covers the presidencies of Joseph Steger (1984–2003) and his successor Nancy Zimpher (2003–), with continuity being ensured by the long-running Vice President for Finance, Dale McGirr. Most projects were developed under Steger, but implementation has continued and often accelerated under Zimpher, a former Dean of the OSU College of Education (1993–1998) and Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee (1998–2003). Zimpher's outreach and engagement achievements at OSU and Milwaukee (Zimpher *et al*., 2002; Wergin & Grassadonia, 2002) were certainly significant factors in her selection at UC.

Before Steger took office in 1984, UC's building was concentrated on the campus and in the hospital area, and university engagement was spread across the city and metropolitan region, with no particular focus on the uptown neighborhoods around campus. If there was a single neighborhood that had attracted long-term UC attention, it was Over-the-Rhine, a former German-American area just north of downtown which had deteriorated and transitioned after World War II, to become the city's principal slum and ghetto, with a predominance of African Americans. Over-the-Rhine is the poorest and most

distressed area of Cincinnati (Miller & Tucker, 1998), located two-thirds of the way from the UC campus to downtown, at the bottom of the steep escarpment which separates uptown from the historic areas closer to the Ohio River.

UC's strategic planning efforts during Steger's Presidency focused attention on the uptown areas close to campus. Though not as poor and crisis-prone as Over-the-Rhine, these areas included substantial areas of deteriorating housing stock to the south, east and northeast of campus, as well as declining commercial strips and some abandoned industrial and warehousing sites closer to Interstate Highways 71 and 75. UC's senior administrators hoped to develop 'a world-class campus', but they recognised that future top-flight students, parents and potential donors could easily be deterred by the appearance of the surrounding areas. They also recognised that aggressive campus expansion through 1950s and 1960s-style urban renewal efforts would be vigorously opposed by the residents of the surrounding neighborhoods.

During the 1970s and 1980s, all the major uptown institutions had noted that an increasing proportion of their employees chose to live in distant suburbs. As UC and the major hospitals expanded, problems of traffic congestion were becoming increasingly serious. Though downtown revitalisation and keeping the peace in Over-the-Rhine were probably the most pressing problems for city government, many city officials recognised the importance of uptown as an 'economic development engine'—a major concentration of education, health care, tourism and R&D activity. The City's Planning Department and its Department of Neighborhood Housing and Conservation formed an Uptown Task Force in 1981. Institutional stakeholders and community leaders were engaged in ongoing discussions, and the process culminated in the publication of *Uptown: A Comprehensive Development Plan* (City of Cincinnati, 1990). This plan covered a 19.4 square kilometer area with over 60 000 residents in six distinct neighborhoods, about 16% of the city's population. The plan addressed a wide range of economic development, institutional expansion, transportation and neighborhood revitalisation issues. It called on the public and private sectors to ''work in concert to carry out the plan's goals'' emphasising coordination, cooperation and commitment (p. 112), and it established the custom that Uptown should always be written with a capital U.

From 1990 onwards, as it developed and implemented its *Campus Master Plan*, UC, the largest of all the Uptown stakeholders, took a lead role in implementing the Uptown plan. UC based its efforts in the University Architect's Office, a strong and well-equipped body with long-term continuity. Staff members of the Architect's Office reached out to local community stakeholders, convening public meetings to discuss how to implement the Uptown plan. The result was the formation of a series of CDCs: the Corryville Community Development Corporation in 1995, the Corryville Economic Development Corporation in 1997, and Community Urban Redevelopment Corporations for Bellevue Gardens (Corryville) in 1998, Clifton Heights in 1999, University Heights in 2001, and Uptown Crossings in 2003. The university's general principle with all the CDCs was to be represented on the board of directors, but always in the minority, and to promote key projects for the areas close to campus through the CDCs (McGirr *et al*., 2004, pp. 46–47). In 1998, working with the city government, UC obtained a federal Empowerment Zone designation for the Clifton Heights, Mount Auburn,

Corryville and Avondale areas, opening access to a series of economic development incentives. In 2001 the UC Architect's Office hired one of the city's senior planners to work as UC Coordinator of Community Development, providing support to the CDCs and encouraging neighborhood planning efforts.

UC's early projects with the CDCs were quite modest. First came a land exchange to permit new building on the East Campus, linked to UC funding the construction of a new community recreation center in Corryville, opened in 1999. Then came Urban Outfitters, a retail outlet in a renovated historic church on Calhoun Street, opened in 2001 after UC had loaned $3.3 million to fund the remodelling. Then came Bellevue Gardens, completed in 2002; two buildings with 20 apartments each located just east of the campus and developed by the Bellevue CDC for rental to UC Medical Center students and visiting physicians.

After these modest but successful beginnings, UC and the University Heights, Clifton Heights, Corryville and Bellevue CDCs have moved swiftly to launch four much larger projects, Stratford Heights, the Calhoun Street Marketplace, Stetson Square, and Short Vine. The funding for these projects includes $75 million loaned from the UC endowment, used as a means to leverage a much larger volume of external funding. The UC Architect's Office is also frequently involved in seeking grants and loans to keep the CDC offices functioning and staffed, and to fund planning and design studies for the various projects. Once major projects are completed under the auspices of the CDCs they generate revenue streams to sustain ongoing CDC activity.

Stratford Heights is a $67 million housing complex for 710 students, opened in fall 2005. It consists of 15 large Tudor-style buildings and incorporates fraternity and sorority houses and special areas for academic and religious groups which seek to foster a specific identity, such as Spanish-speakers, honors scholars, vegetarians and MBA students. It is owned by the University Heights Community CDC and administered by a professional management corporation. Its construction was delayed for about a year because some neighborhood residents petitioned the city council to block the sale of three alleyways needed for the project, citing recent riotous behavior by students in the Cinco de Mayo celebrations, an annual festival held in the area (Korte, 2003). Though the festival celebrates Mexican Independence Day, to many students it is just an excuse for springtime revelry and drunken carousing.

The first phase of the Calhoun Street Marketplace was completed in Fall 2005 and consists of two separate developments, one on top of the other (Figure 5). Down below is a new $40 million 1000 car university parking garage, constructed below Calhoun Street's ground level. Then, on top, the Clifton Heights CDC has built a $60 million four–seven story retail and housing development, with 3480 square meters of retail space fronting onto Calhoun Street on the first floor, and apartment housing for over 750 students on the upper floors. UC has leased the air rights of its garage to the CDC. On the south side of Calhoun, the second phase, which has an estimated cost of $125 million and is scheduled for completion in late 2007, will include an underground garage for 600 cars, over 5500 square meters of retail space, and 220 condominium apartments. Land assembly for the second phase was prolonged by the need to use eminent domain powers to acquire some existing businesses.

FIGURE 5. The Calhoun Street Marketplace, Cincinnati: mid-rise student housing over retail, all built on top of a UC parking garage (photo courtesy of UC).

Stetson Square is a $65 million townhouse, apartment, office and retail project mainly intended for professionals working in the hospital area and for retailers and professional services firms serving the hospital area. Many of the buildings are mixed-use and the complex has its own underground parking garage. The project, which should be completed in 2006, covers five blocks and consists of 82 homeownership units, 204 rental units, 1400 square meters of retail space, and 6300 square meters of office space. It is presented as a joint venture partnership of the Bellevue and Corryville CDCs and the Great Traditions Land and Development Company, and the architectural styles and publicity emphasise that it is 'a new urban village'.

Short Vine is a more complex project intended to gradually create a 'university village'. It involves the rehabilitation and adaptive re-use of a variety of existing structures as well as various new constructions. It is intended to revitalise a three-block wide strip running north – south along the east side of the original campus, including the Bellevue Gardens project. The aim is to create a convivial mixed-use residential and commercial zone and to locate various university outreach offices

there, including a community fine arts center and the UC College of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning's Niehoff Studio.

When President Zimpher arrived in 2003, she promised to continue implementing the campus plan and off-campus projects and embarked UC on a major academic planning effort. Of the six academic goals identified for the university, two focused directly on urban development, outreach and engagement: to ''forge key relationships and partnerships, with our colleagues within the university and with local and global communities''; and to ''establish a sense of place—to develop an environment where members of the campus community and the community at large want to spend time—learning, living, playing and staying; provide long-term support to build a better Uptown'' (UC, 2004, pp. 83, 104). Meanwhile, in October 2003, after several months discussions, the chief executives of the five major Uptown institutions: UC, Health Alliance, Tri Health Inc, Children's Hospital, and the Cincinnati Zoo, formed the Uptown Consortium, an institutional platform to facilitate joint projects and negotiations with the city, county and state (Uptown Consortium, 2004). In early 2005 the Consortium claimed to have embarked on $500 million in investment to improve uptown neighborhoods and business districts by 2010, including 1200 units of housing, 27 870 square meters of new retail space, and the creation of 2300 new permanent jobs and another 2500 jobs from new construction. In turn, it claimed to have commitments for $60 million in city improvements to Uptown by 2010 (Uptown Consortium, 2005).[8]

The relationship between UC, the CDCs and the Uptown Consortium is still evolving. The formation of the Consortium probably strengthens the power of the participating institutions and the neighborhood CDCs to lobby with government agencies and political representatives for infrastructure projects and enhanced economic development incentives. Most ambitious, perhaps, is the vision of a new highway interchange on I-71 providing direct access to the hospitals, UC and a new Technology Corridor along and between Route 42 and I-71, over a kilometer east of UC's campus. The Technology Corridor would be a large R&D park, mainly using old industrial sites, but potentially requiring the demolition of some older housing. Also significant are emerging plans to redevelop the Burnet Avenue area, a severely deteriorated commercial corridor northeast of the hospital area and notorious for drug-related crimes, and to develop a Gateway where Vine turns to Jefferson southeast of the UC campus—a project which could be similar to OSU's South Campus Gateway, but might also include a hotel.

The scale and speed of neighborhood redevelopment around the UC campus, combined with the strength of the Uptown Consortium, suggests that within a few years Cincinnati will be world-famous as a model for university-linked urban revitalisation. Nevertheless, the City of Cincinnati has serious underlying problems of deindustrialisation, population decline and race relations, and those problems may impact on Uptown's long-term future, just as they do on the reputation of the city as a whole. Issues came to a head in April 2001, when Cincinnati had the worst outbreak of US urban rioting since the Los Angeles uprising of April 1992 (DePaul & Slevin, 2001). Sparked by an incident of police brutality against African Americans, the Cincinnati riots were centered in the Over-the-Rhine area, further emphasising that neighborhood's problems and the

city and nation's growing levels of socio-economic inequality. The riots inspired a 'Collaborative Agreement' between the city government, the Fraternal Order of Police and leading African American organisations to work together to overcome entrenched racism. In August 2004 the city inaugurated its $110 million National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, a museum and memorial to racial integration focusing on the role that Cincinnati played as the first northern city across the Ohio River for southern blacks fleeing slavery before and during the US Civil War (Horton & Flaherty, 1993). Nevertheless, opinions are sharply divided on police tactics and on whether the city is doing enough to address problems of severe poverty and social injustice (Bronson, 2003, pp. 72 – 101; Lynch & Dutton, 2005). There is always the possibility that rioting could recur. Linked with these tensions, of course, are serious concerns about crime rates, the quality of urban public schools and urban real estate values, all factors which could impact on UC's neighborhood revitalisation efforts.

The University of Akron (UA)

UA was founded in 1870 as Buchtel College, a religious institution affiliated with the Ohio Universalist Convention. The college abandoned its religious affiliation in 1907 and in 1913 the trustees ceded its assets and operation to the City of Akron, which renamed it UA. The city supported the university's operation for over 50 years, and over that period enrollment grew from about 200 students to nearly 10 000. In 1967 the city ceded control to the state, and since then the university has continued to expand. By 2003 full time student enrollment had grown to about 16 500 (FTE), annual revenues were over $300 million, federal grant and contract funding was over $30 million, and UA's endowment was approaching $150 million. The university has a full range of programs in the arts, sciences, and humanities, and specialised colleges and professional schools in such fields as polymer science, engineering, nursing, and law.

Until the 1960s UA was confined to a large city block located about 0.5 kilometers southeast of Akron's downtown, but separated from the downtown by railroad lines. In the 1960s the city, operating through federal urban renewal programs, declared several blocks of dense residential neighborhoods south of the original campus as blighted and cleared them using its powers of eminent domain. The land was transferred to the university with title covenants requiring that it be preserved as open space, so it is used for sports fields. Subsequently as UA's enrollment grew after it became a state institution, the university expanded into residential neighborhoods between the campus and downtown, often buying homes and converting them to departmental or administrative offices. By the late 1970s the university had built several large academic buildings and dormitories on adjacent properties and the campus had expanded to cover 24 hectares, criss-crossed by city streets (Figure 6).

Akron, long the headquarters and manufacturing center of the four major US rubber and tire corporations, experienced the effects of deindustrialisation on a massive scale between the late 1960s and the 1990s. The city's population peaked at over 290 000 around 1960, but since then it has fallen steadily to about 212 000 in 2005 (Kent & Butler, forthcoming). Now, only one major rubber company,

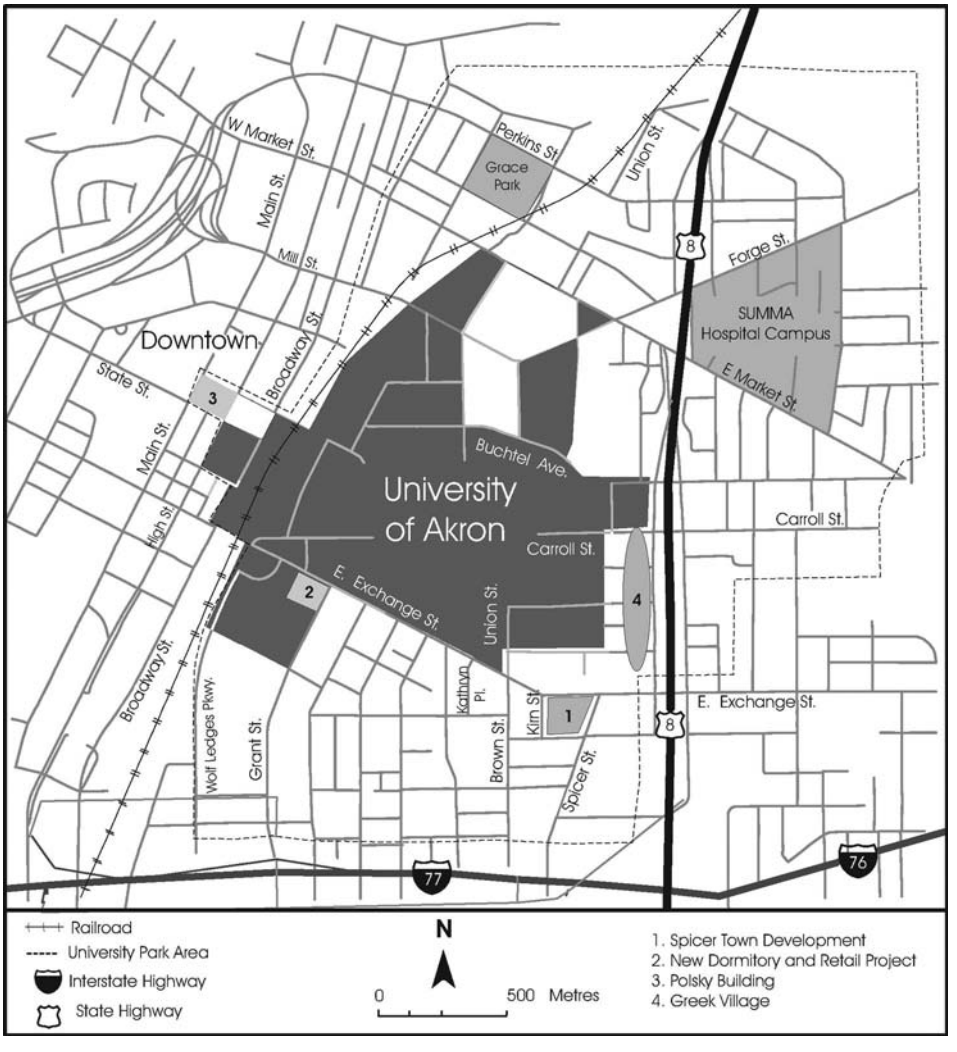

FIGURE 6. University of Akron: campus location and selected off-campus projects.

Goodyear, remains headquartered in Akron, and tires are no longer manufactured in the city or the surrounding region. The deindustrialisation of Akron and the decline of its downtown created significant opportunities for the physical expansion of the university.

Until the 1980s UA had little or no involvement in neighborhoods around its campus. The downtown bordered the university on the northwest while large rubber factories were located to the southwest. Housing and commercial areas that served industrial workers dominated in the neighborhoods to the east and south of the campus. From 1967 till the early 1980s campus leaders focused on consolidating the university's position as a state institution and building new and stronger academic programs on campus. The primary outreach project was the

construction of the E. J. Thomas Performing Arts Hall, then on land at the university's edge between the campus and the downtown. Inaugurated in 1973 (Knepper, 1990, p. 132), the hall is an important regional venue for theatre and concerts and one of Akron's principal landmarks.

As some of the city's traditional business and institutional powers declined during the process of deindustrialisation, UA's importance grew. Beginning in the 1980s the university began a property acquisition program, gradually buying up residential and commercial properties on its borders for planned expansion of the campus. William Muse assumed the university presidency in 1984 and focused on initiatives to improve UA's visibility, environment and relations with the city. He led efforts to move the university into Division 1A, the top echelon of intercollegiate sports, and invested heavily in the football program.

Though relations with the university had been cool at times, municipal leaders saw UA as one of the city's major assets. In 1987 they agreed to close four blocks of Buchtel Avenue, a four-lane street that bisected the campus, and let the university create a pedestrian mall. As a *quid pro quo*, the university agreed to 'buy' a long-vacant department store, Polsky's, for $1 and renovate it for classrooms and offices (Figure 7). Polsky's was a five-story building with its own parking garage located on Main Street about two blocks beyond the university's western boundary at the railroad lines. City leaders hoped that this initiative to 'span the tracks' would bring the university into the downtown and draw more

FIGURE 7. UA's Polsky Building, an old department store acquired in 1987 as a symbolic project to bring the university into the downtown area. It is used for university offices, classrooms and extra-mural projects.

business to the area. Buchtel Mall was completed in 1989 and the renovation of the Polsky Building in 1994.

The establishment of the University Park Neighborhood Association (UPNA) in 1988 marked the beginning of UA's outreach efforts for the residential areas to the northeast, east and south of campus (Boyd, 2000). The name 'University Park' was chosen for the area so as to create a neighborhood identity and emphasise the commonality of interest between residents and campus. Following a community service model, UA supported a range of social programs in the area, but the UPNA operated with a shoestring budget and only one or two part-time staff. Its activities peaked in the mid-1990s, but its overall impact was modest.

During the 1990s the number of UA students renting rooms and apartments in the University Park neighborhood rose quite rapidly and raucous Mayday parties proved to be more newsworthy than community development efforts. End of semester festivities had been a common element of university life around campus since the mid 1970s, but in the 1990s the relatively tame yard and porch parties held on Kathryn Place exploded into large street gatherings where drunken youths (some students and some not) burned furniture and sometimes fought with each other and law enforcement officers. In 1990 for instance, over 200 police confronted nearly 2000 revelers (Akron Beacon Journal, 2000). The annual recurrence of these Mayday parties was a public relations nightmare, and UA and the City of Akron worked hard to deter these outbreaks or control them quickly if they occurred (McCarty, 1994, p. 4B; Kuehner, 1995, p. 3B; Columbus Dispatch, 1997, p. 7B).

In the mid-1990s, during the presidencies of Peggy Gordon Elliot and Marion Ruebel, UA began to plan a five-year campus building program, aimed at modernising the campus and making it more attractive and competitive in the marketplace for excellent students, prestigious faculty, grants, contracts, donations and corporate partnerships. Planning was accelerated when Luis Proenza assumed the presidency in 1999, and major campus construction work began in 2000. The $300 million program included five new buildings, substantial remodeling and renovation of many other academic buildings, and the acquisition of 12 hectares of green space. The completion of this program brought the total area of the campus in 2005 to about 160 hectares.

As they finalised the campus building program, President Proenza and other campus leaders realised that its success would depend on achieving a parallel transformation of the University Park neighborhood. Proenza reached out to city officials, corporate leaders, neighborhood stakeholders and alumni to generate support. In 2000 his efforts led to the receipt of a planning grant of $200 000 from the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation. Created from the profits of the newspaper empire the two brothers had built, the Knight Foundation focuses its philanthropic programs on Akron, once the company's headquarters, and 25 other cities where the brothers owned newspapers. UA used the initial grant to develop a long range work program for University Park and applied for enhanced funding to promote the revitalisation of a 40-block area. The Knight Foundation granted an additional $2.5 million for use over five years (2001 – 2006).[9]

The two grants allowed UA to pursue neighborhood engagement on several fronts. In 2000 it established a small office, the University Park Alliance (UPA), and hired a senior planner as its chief, reporting to President Proenza. Working

closely with city leaders, notably long-serving Mayor Don Plusquellic and the city's planning staff, the UPA launched a year-long participative planning process, culminating in a strategic plan for neighborhood revitalisation (UPA, 2001). The planning effort leveraged additional resources from the city and led to the establishment of a new CDC, the University Park Development Corporation (UPDC). UA is funding some of the UPDC's personnel until its financial status is more secure.

The UPA has promoted community outreach, involving UA faculty and students in community service work, service learning projects, and research initiatives. These have included tutoring programs, after-school drama clubs, neighborhood and park clean ups, flower plantings, block watches, and community art projects. In late 2004 UA received a three-year, $400 000, federally funded HUD – COPC grant to strengthen its outreach activities, and in 2005 the COPC project opened an office south of campus, offering family literacy, housing counseling and other programs.

The UPA has identified East Exchange Street, a four-lane arterial running along the south side of campus, as a priority area for neighborhood redevelopment. The streetscape is gritty and somewhat rundown, and land-use is dominated by low-end commercial activities including fast-food restaurants, bars, a pawn-shop, a medical firm buying blood and plasma, and tattoo and piercing parlors. The university hopes to transform the streetscape and the residential blocks immediately adjacent to it into an attractive mixed-use area combining shopping, leisure, and residential opportunities.

As a first step in the East Exchange Street revitalisation, the university realised two land swaps in 2005, one with the local McDonald's franchise and the other with National City Bank. These enabled the university to consolidate its holdings and McDonald's and National City to construct large new facilities. The streetscape was improved and the university was able to initiate work on a new campus dormitory at the corner of East Exchange and Grant Streets. This $32 million project, which should be completed in fall 2006, is intended to provide 460 beds for university students and 560 square metres of street-level retail space on East Exchange.

In spring 2005, to complement UA's efforts, the City Council approved a redevelopment plan for six city blocks near the intersection of East Exchange and Spicer Streets. It declared portions of the area to be blighted allowing the city to use eminent domain if existing landowners resist the sale of their property. The plan calls for the construction of 112 housing units, including townhouses and apartments, as well as Spicer Town, a retail space fronting on East Exchange between Kirn and Spicer Streets. The projected cost for the complete development is $32 million, with the city of Akron contributing an additional $4.5 million in infrastructure improvements (Wallace, 2005). An ambitious schedule was set, so that everything would be completed before the end of 2007, but the private sector partners have had difficulties finalising the project and it will probably be reduced in scale and implemented more slowly (Lin-Fisher, 2005).

The Summa Corporation, which owns the large Summa Hospital complex to the northeast of the university campus, has been an important institutional partner with UA in its neighborhood engagement agenda. An upgrade to Route 8, the six lane limited access highway that runs between the hospital and university campuses,

has been beneficial to both institutions. The City of Akron has also created a redevelopment area on two large blocks adjacent to Route 8 and between Summa and UA. This land currently remains vacant but may be used for new office or medical facilities.

Two more projects are being discussed, a 'Greek Village' just east of campus and a new large football stadium somewhere in the vicinity of East Exchange and Brown Streets. The Greek Village, so named because fraternities and sororities are known as ''Greek'' associations, would replace some existing rundown fraternity houses and create a special housing zone adjacent to campus. The new stadium, according to its proponents, will enhance the campus and give it a traditional college atmosphere, attracting more full-time students, raising revenue, and generating goodwill among the alumni. Funding for this project and the site to construct it have not yet been finalised, however, and some community leaders ask why UA should spend so much money and tie up so much land for a facility which probably will only be used ten times a year.

Youngstown State University (YSU)

YSU was founded in 1908 as Youngstown College, an expansion of YMCA evening classes for adults which had been run since 1888. Located on the north side of downtown and known for a time as Youngstown Institute of Technology, it remained under YMCA control until 1944, when it became an independent private college (Skardon, 1983). In 1955 it changed its name to Youngstown University, and in 1967 it became part of the state system as YSU (Figure 8). By 2003 YSU had a full time student enrollment of about 10 500 (FTE), annual revenues were over $150 million, federal grants and contracts were around $16 million, and its endowment was about $144 million.

Youngstown can be viewed as the ultimate test of a university's capacity to stimulate neighborhood revitalisation. The city is one of America's extreme examples of deindustrialisation, with population declining from 168 000 in 1950 to 116 000 in 1980 and to less than 78 000 in 2004,[10] and with more than 50 000 manufacturing jobs disappearing from the Mahoning Valley region (Finnerty, 2003, p. 15). The city has great assets, such as the Mill Creek Park, the Butler Institute of American Art, the Youngstown Symphony and Powers Auditorium, all relics of Youngstown's golden age as the center for 'Steel Valley', but its economy had collapsed. It was also one of the last bastions of organised crime. Deindustrialisation was associated with rising suicide and violent crime rates, and with widespread foreclosures, tax and utility delinquency on residential and commercial real estate. Many chose to leave the region, which had few alternative opportunities within a 45-minute commute, while others chose to move from the city to one of its suburbs with a reputation for better schools, lower taxes and a more favorable real estate market. Since the great wave of steelworks closures in the 1970s, Mahoning County has also been hit with a wave of corruption scandals, culminating in the fall of the local political baron, Congressman James A. Traficant Jr. (Mnookin, 2002). Almost inevitably, under such extremely difficult circumstances, Youngstown's real estate market plummeted in the 1980s and 1990s, with many businesses closing and downtown losing virtually all its

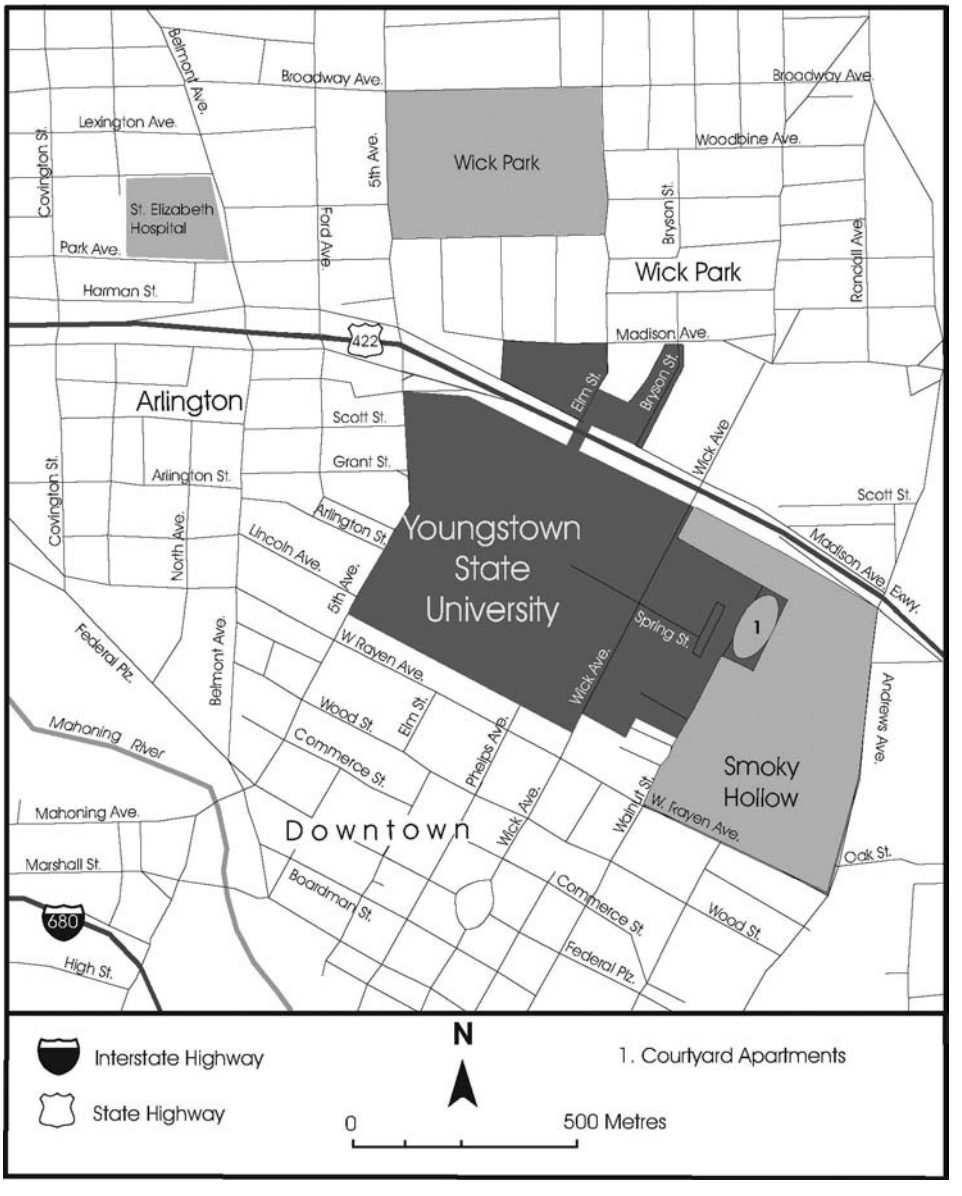

FIGURE 8. Youngstown State University: campus location and selected off-campus projects.

commercial activity. Large numbers of houses were abandoned in the poorer and more marginal neighborhoods.

The selection of David Sweet in 2000 as President of YSU was a bold move by the university trustees to involve YSU in the revitalisation of the city. It coincided with a growing realisation by local officials that the city needed a new comprehensive plan and economic development strategy. Sweet had previously

served for 22 years as founding Dean of Cleveland State University's Levin College of Urban Affairs, and he was the leading advocate of Ohio's UUP (Sweet, 1992a, 1992b). In the same year as Sweet arrived, YSU's Center for Urban and Regional Studies, an outgrowth of the UUP funding, received a HUD–COPC grant to work in the neighborhoods beyond the expressway on the north side of campus.

Soon after his arrival, Sweet reached out to Mayor George McKelvey and his staff, and to community stakeholders in the vicinity of campus. The result was a joint commitment to develop a new city plan, a new master plan for YSU, a strategy to revitalise the areas to the east and north of the YSU campus, and an application from the Youngstown Metropolitan Housing Authority for a HUD HOPE VI grant to redevelop the Westlake Terrace public housing project in the Arlington neighborhood west of campus. In late 2001 the city brought in Urban Strategies Inc of Toronto as planning consultants, and YSU recruited Hunter Morrison, former Cleveland Planning Director, to advise on planning and neighborhood revitalisation. In 2003 the Housing Authority was awarded a $19.75 million HOPE VI grant for the Westlake Terrace project, including new housing development to the north of the YSU campus.

The city and YSU planning efforts that were initiated in 2000 and 2001 culminated in a university strategic plan in mid-2002 (YSU, 2002), a major city-wide community visioning effort in the second half of 2002, and the production of the city's *Youngstown 2010* strategic plan, approved by the City Council in February 2003.[11] Two major ideas underlay the planning effort; that Youngstown had to 're-tool for a smaller and greener city', and that YSU had the potential to grow in enrollment and prestige. More than ever before, there was a collective recognition that YSU was the prime potential economic development engine for the region. As a result, both the university's and the city's strategic plan envisioned a strengthened relationship between downtown and the YSU campus, and the importance of YSU engaging with neighborhood stakeholders in the revitalisation of the Smoky Hollow neighborhood across Wick Avenue to the east, and the Wick Park area to the north. The HUD–COPC grant enabled YSU to launch a home-ownership promotion program for city neighborhoods and to increase its range of student internships and voluntary community service projects.

Because of the enthusiasm and persistence of neighborhood stakeholders, most notably the Reverend John Horner of St John's Episcopal Church who had previously worked in community development programs in Philadelphia, Smoky Hollow became the prime focus for YSU's engagement agenda. For more than a decade the YSU Foundation had been buying vacant lots in Smoky Hollow, thinking of locating a new football stadium there. After President Sweet's arrival, however, the university's vision shifted towards releasing land back for neighborhood redevelopment. Nevertheless, YSU pushed ahead with one modest campus expansion into the area, the construction of the Courtyard Apartments, a $22 million 408-bed student residence completed in 2003 (Figure 9). In July 2003 Wick Neighbors Inc was incorporated as a CDC for Smoky Hollow, and since then it has raised almost $1 million in donations to support its operations and pay for planning and engineering consultants. It has been preparing a redevelopment plan, involving professional consultants, extensive community consultations, and

FIGURE 9. YSU's Courtyard Residences, opened in 2004, new student accommodation in the Smoky Hollow neighborhood within easy walking distance of university classrooms and offices (photo courtesy of YSU).

lengthy negotiating with the city administration about re-zoning, tax incentives and utility networks. The plan is for a mixed-income, mixed-use development including over 200 townhouses, condominiums and single-family homes, about 150 apartments, and further expansion of the Courtyard Apartments student housing. The plan also envisages a central park, a senior housing complex, three office buildings, and up to seven commercial buildings with apartments on the upper floors. The hope is to break ground on the first constructions in 2006 and to gradually redevelop the neighborhood over 5 – 10 years.

As the Smoky Hollow redevelopment is still in the process of negotiation and approval, it is too early to guess how successful this bold strategy will be. New housing in a revitalised neighborhood within walking distance of YSU and downtown will be more attractive than much of the older housing stock in more distant city neighborhoods with high levels of abandonment. As a result, the redevelopment of Smoky Hollow may accelerate the decline of some other Youngstown neighborhoods. In a more positive sense, however, it will probably support the growth of YSU and attract new residents from suburban municipalities, and it may slow the continuing outmigration of Youngstown families to the suburbs.

Over the last five years, planning has assumed an unusually high profile in Youngstown, a sign both of the gravity of urban crisis and of pressure for radical change. In December 2003, nine days before Christmas, 1400 people came to the meeting presenting the first draft of the *Youngstown 2010* plan, a remarkable level

of public involvement (Finnerty, 2003, p. 19). One of the leading advocates of the plan was Jay Williams, the city's Community Development Director. In November 2005, in a six-candidate race to succeed outgoing Mayor McKelvey, Williams was elected mayor with 52% of the total vote. Taking office at the age of 34, Williams is the city's youngest-ever mayor, the first African American mayor, and the first Independent to be elected mayor for over 80 years. He is a renowned advocate of the city's 2010 redevelopment plan, and partnership with YSU will be vital to the success of his administration.

Despite ongoing reductions in state financial support, YSU has grown continuously in enrollment since President's Sweet's arrival in 2000. With its centennial due in 2008 the university is currently embarked on a major fund-raising campaign. YSU has adopted an urban design plan placing new buildings on the south side of campus and seeking to develop attractive streets and walkways linking the campus with downtown. If these projects are implemented and if the Smoky Hollow redevelopment succeeds, there is a good chance that downtown Youngstown will also be revitalised.

Conclusion

Six factors are crucial to understanding why the four universities profiled have focused on neighborhood revitalisation and achieved significant transformations: state politics, state programs, the national economy, institutional leadership, collaborative planning, and leveraging capacity.

Ohio provides a relatively favorable context for university outreach and university-led urban revitalisation, and the four universities studied have taken full advantage of that context. Comparing Ohio to eastern seaboard states like New York and Massachusetts, Ohio's public colleges and universities have a relatively higher proportion of total enrollment, vis-à-vis private institutions. Ohio's public university system is long-established, and many public institutions have substantial popular support and loyalty, expressed primarily in terms of sports following and alumni donations. The major campuses have strong and well-staffed university architects' offices, with the capacity to engage in site planning and to oversee design and building projects. The OBR provides some statewide coordination of higher education, but the individual universities have significant autonomy to determine their own priorities, to shape their image, and to seek additional funding. The state has a dispersed pattern of urban development and a long tradition of localist loyalty and intense competition between cities and counties for resources. Unlike New England or New York State, where graduates of elite private colleges and universities tend to dominate politics and government, in Ohio the majority of senior state officials and key legislators are graduates of the state's major public universities. Their loyalty is symbolically focused on college sports teams, but they also have a strong tendency to look to the public universities to solve local and statewide problems (Ohio-CHEE, 2004).

Important to the recognition of urban universities' potential to revitalise cities is the Ohio UUP initiated in 1980. David Sweet, then a Dean at Cleveland State University and since 2000 President of YSU, played a particularly crucial role in proposing, lobbying and persisting to obtain the UUP funding line. The

significance of the line is not based on the volume of funding—which is miniscule—but on the identification of eight public universities as 'urban' and having a special responsibility for urban revitalisation. Conceptually the UUP was a master-stroke in an extended period of deindustrialisation—drawing the attention of politicians, campus leaders, educational administrators and scholars. The parallel with OSU's popular long-running, statewide land-grant program for rural Ohio was obvious, and OSU has managed to fuse its urban and rural concerns in the Metro Columbus area, functioning simultaneously as a land-grant and urban university.

In recent years the four universities profiled have initiated bold new projects and programs to revive neighborhoods around campus and support urban revitalisation. Instead of focusing on esoteric scholarship, neglecting local situations and viewing the campus as an enclave to be defended against outside threats, the campuses have been opened outwards to integrate with the surrounding neighborhoods. The initiatives taken have been rationalised as 'enlightened self-interest', 'university outreach and engagement', and part of a broader transformation from passive classroom learning to experiential learning. Intensified efforts have coincided with over a decade of positive national economic indicators: a predominance of economic growth, low mortgage interest rates, high levels of new home construction, and widespread real estate price appreciation. Though Ohio is not a 'hot market' like Metro Boston, New York, Miami, Los Angeles, San Francisco or Seattle, Columbus is at least 'warm', and Akron and Cincinnati are 'lukewarm'. Even in Youngstown, where overall demographic and real estate market trends are very problematical, there is real hope that the neighborhoods around the YSU campus can grow and consolidate, even as some other old urban neighborhoods continue in long-term decline. The campus becomes a beacon of hope for the surrounding neighborhoods because it represents higher education, technology, R&D, and the principal local sporting and cultural attractions—fields which are expanding, and which pay relatively well, even while deindustrialisation continues to negatively impact the regional economy.

In developing their neighborhood initiatives, all four case study universities have utilised campus planning and institutional strategic planning, linked up with city planning initiatives and worked with existing CDCs. They have also initiated, or helped found, new CDCs as mechanisms to identify, coordinate with, and strengthen other stakeholders. Planning has been important in the broader process of identifying partners, developing alliances, and building institutions. It has helped create a sense of incorporation, participation and gradualism—vital to avoid any comparison with traditional 1950s – 1970s urban renewal. The legacy of urban renewal still haunts US neighborhood politics, with its focus on top-down master planning, governmental powers of eminent domain (often used to assist private developers) and large-scale evictions, demolitions and displacement. Successful contemporary neighborhood revitalisation efforts are very gradual, inclusive and consensual, emphasising that existing residents can stay and benefit when new residents and businesses move into the area.

All four university-led neighborhood revitalisation efforts studied have emphasised leveraging—commitment and investment of a part of the total costs, typically between one tenth and a third, in order to obtain matching donations, loans and investments. Typically universities don't design, finance, build and own

everything. Instead, they offer technical assistance, partial funding, and commitments to lease, or find tenants for, portions of the buildings that are constructed or rehabilitated. Projects are deliberately complex, involving multiple partners, with the university playing an important role, but nevertheless, a minority role. In leveraging, the availability of university endowment funds becomes crucial—providing capital which can be invested or loaned for a reasonable return, and providing a source of funds which is not constrained by state bureaucratic limits on campus construction, dedicated use, and academic space and standards.

The successes of the four profiled universities are associated with strong, stable institutional leadership which makes community outreach and the revitalisation of neighborhoods around the campus major long-term institutional priorities. If the university president is not a strong supporter, community outreach and neighborhood revitalisation will get lost among the many, many different objectives and priorities of a large complex institution. The modern university president is a spokesperson, diplomat, coach and cheerleader, and the person who manages relations with the university trustees, the state governor and legislature, the mayor and city council, and local corporate leaders, philanthropists and neighborhood activists. In turn, of course, politicians, business leaders, university trustees and institutional search committees all have important roles in selecting a new university president, and their consciousness of the importance of outreach and neighborhood revitalisation can be vital in finding a candidate who will pursue these objectives. It is clear that both YSU in appointing David Sweet and UC in appointing Nancy Zimpher were deliberately seeking a candidate with a strong track record in outreach and neighborhood revitalisation. Whether the president is deliberately appointed to fulfil these roles, or chooses to prioritise these roles after appointment, it is still vital to have a strong and similarly-motivated group of vice presidents, directors, deans and field-staff doing community liaison work. Two key factors in the success of such efforts are local experience and loyalty, and experience with a variety of different employers—government, business, universities and non-profit organisations. Successful neighborhood revitalisation and community development are strongly associated with networking, coalition-building, local pride and place-loyalty—the ability to focus on potential rather than on problems, and to maintain long-term continuity of effort with the same places and communities.

In the field of university-related neighborhood revitalisation, Ohio exemplifies some of the positive features of the US competitive model, whereby a great variety of institutions, localities and firms compete for investments, markets, talent and donations. Even in the public sector, the US model creates a competitive arena of entrepreneurship and experimentation (Tiebout, 1954; Fischel, 2001). In situations of rapid deindustrialisation, universities, government and health care emerge as the main hopes for urban revitalisation, especially as mass-market retailing has usually relocated to the suburbs. In the absence of major national policy reforms to restrain sprawl, revitalise cities and reduce socio-economic inequalities, 'institutional success stories' are beacons of hope—examples of what can be achieved by local institutions and motivated leaders.

The best hope for declining urban neighborhoods close to universities may well be that the universities recognise their stakeholder roles and take on outreach

functions, not just in traditional caring professions, but also in community service, real estate development, and business incubation. Such initiatives call for creative and collaborative planning efforts, whereby universities act as change agents, joining with other local stakeholders to form strategic partnerships and alliances. 'Enlightened self-interest' underlies the participation of all of the stakeholders, not just the universities.

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Notes

1. The official websites are: www.osu.edu, www.uc.edu, www.uakron.edu and www.ysu.edu.
2. From www2.census.gov/prod2/statcomp/documents/1900-02.pdf, www.census.gov/popest/states/NST-annest.html and www.odod.state.oh.us/research/PopulationHousing.html (accessed 24 December 2005). In the 2000 census returns, Ohio's ethnic composition was reported as 86% white, 11% black, and 3% 'other'

(Asian-American, Native American, mixed race, undeclared, etc); 2% of the state's population declared themselves to be of Hispanic origin.
3. Year 2000 census populations drawn from www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t3/tab03.pdf (accessed 24 December 2005).
4. '*The*' has been part of OSU's official name since 1914.
5. See, for example Casto *et al.* (1998), Baroway (2002), Dixon & Roche (2005), and Evans-Cowley's article in this issue.
6. http://ohiostatebuckeyes.collegesports.com/facilities/ohiostadium.html (accessed 24 December 2005).
7. http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2003/04/14/national/main549155.shtml (accessed 24 December 2005).
8. Uptown Consortium flyer, headed ''Uptown Revitalization: A City of Cincinnati—Uptown Consortium Partnership''.
9. Knight Foundation (2001) ''University-Area renewal project in Akron gets funding boost from Knight Foundation'', John S. and James L. Knight Foundation website. www.knightfdn.org/default.asp?story=news_at_knight/releases/2001/2001_12_19.html. (accessed 11 March 2006).
10. http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/SAFFPopulation? (accessed 24 December 2005).
11. http://www.youngstown2010.com/ (accessed 24 December 2005).

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